[For information concerning the masked dance ceremonies see category 535.]

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

Games.—Of numerous games, the most important is a formal wrestling match which is an indispensable part of most religious ceremonies and of all intervillage visits.

Narcotics and stimulants.—Like the other tribes in this region, the *Carajá* have no alcoholic beverages. They smoke tobacco in short cylindrical pipes (fig. 21, *c*). They are heavy smokers, some of the children beginning before they are weaned.

SUPERNATURALISM

Cults.—*Carajá* religion consists of two distinct cults: a cult of the dead and a mask cult (fig. 24). The cult of the dead, which is under the direction of the priest, has for its object the placation of ghosts by a periodical ceremonial which comes to its climax in several large calendrical feasts. The most important of these feasts is the Big House Feast, which is celebrated shortly after the beginning of the rainy season. All the villages which comprise a ceremonial unit come to the one village where the feast is conducted. There is a great mass of ceremonial addressed to various classes of ghosts, but the central portion of the ceremony is the impersonation of animal ghosts. Another important feast, already mentioned, occurs at the height of the dry season and is directed toward the control of enemy ghosts. Two other feasts held in the dry season are chiefly for the entertainment of the ancestors.

The mask cult is concerned with the worship of another class of supernaturals. It consists of an elaborate routine of feasts, interrupted only by death. In these feasts, conducted by the shaman, the supernaturals are impersonated in the complex dances mentioned above.

The two cults are independent of each other and are both strictly men's cults. Any women intruding upon the secrets of the cults is subjected to gang rape and remains a wanton thereafter.

Shamanism.—A shaman is trained by apprenticeship to an older shaman. A certain amount of medical lore is taught but the essence of the training is learning how to communicate with supernaturals in a state of trance.

There is a considerable amount of sorcery. The main technique is bottling a supernatural being into a small image and then directing it into the body of the victim. As almost all deaths are interpreted as the result of sorcery, feuding is continual.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Castelnau, 1850-59; Ehrenreich, 1891 b; Krause, 1911.

5: Krause SP9 Caraja SP9

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[For the description and use of feathered ornaments such as caps, helmets, belts, hoops, etc. on festive and ceremonial occasions, see category 301.]

/331 cont./

765 loud, high voice in a monotonous intonation; at the same time rattle gourds are swung. It seems that laments take place as soon as anything reminds them of the deceased. In any case definite times of the day for these could not be determined. The people, however, are sincerely grieved; one can see their sorrow in their faces, at least at first. The father allegedly mourns a child only one day, the mother four days. This statement is certainly not true, for in Schischá I heard lamentations for a child who was said to have died three weeks before. The husband mourns his wife only a short time; on the other hand, the wife her husband for a year. After this time has elapsed, the widow is painted with urucú and hung with ornaments at the command of the chief. After this she mourns one more day, and with this the period of mourning is at an end.

15. Religion, Masks, Magic, Medicine.

114 Concerning the religious views of the Karajá I was able to
771 discover but little. The researcher does not come across anything that could suggest any belief in spirits or a cult, with the exception of the masked dances.

114 Unfortunately, I saw very few such dances, since I traveled
535 in the Karajá region from June to October, whereas the time of
796 the dancing seems to be precisely from November to April. Thus, I am unable to report anything about the meaning of these dances; all my efforts to find out anything about this from the people by questions failed because of the meager possibility of mutual
[532] understanding or the deliberate withholding of information. I assume, however, that these dances, which coincide with the time of ripening of certain field produce and at which masks representing animals are used, are in part harvest festival dances, but in part originate from ideas out of which the so-called magic by analogy developed later on. More cannot be said about this; all
532 else would be useless speculation. Some of the masks are not

/331 cont./

dance masks, but masks of beggars who travel around on certain occasions and beg for food; others seem to be connected with the /332/ cult of the dead. In any case, these are still quite primitive forms; a strict organization of the young people seems to be entirely lacking; only the age group of the unmarried men and the men's house (mask house) have developed (1). As a

1. Dr. Walter Lehmann-München, in a discussion of my essay on masks in the Zentralblatt für Anthropologie, XVI, 1911, p. 100, suspects that the dance masks, like those in Central America, could in part be connected with the cult of the dead, and that they could be associated with totemistic ideas in combination with puberty rites. The connection with the cult of the dead seems actually to exist for the ĭõõnĭ mask, but, unfortunately, I was able to obtain too little information about this (see Part I, p. 78 /untranslated/) to be able to say anything about it with certainty. As for the second point, I suspected totemism among the Karajá Indians from the very beginning, but, in spite of all efforts, I could not discover anything of this nature. And it is the same with puberty rites. I therefore believe that I am right if I abstain from such combinations. It must one day be the task of a researcher who visits the Karajá during the rainy (dance) season to devote his attention to this roblem.

As a result, priests are, as yet, entirely lacking; everyone may still take part equally in all the dances. The arrangement is the duty of the chief. Everything concerning the masks is kept secret from the women. For more detail on the mask arrangements, see my article, "Tanzmaskennachbildungen vom mittleren Araguaya (Zentralbrasilien) /Copies of Dance Masks from the Middle

/332 cont./
535 Araguaia (Central Brazil)/" (2).
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2. Jahrbuch des städtischen Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Vol. 3, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 97-122.

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532 I should like only to make a few remarks here about the mask huts. Castelnau mentions and illustrates (Vue et scènes, Paris, 1853, Plate 8 and text page 7) in the first Sambioá village an almost semicircular, vertical palm-leaf wall, the convex side of which is turned toward the village. In the open space stand about ten dance masks. Beside this there is a framework of poles which consists of several oblique poles stuck in a circle, from the center of which projects a long pole bearing a bunch of leaves at the end. These two structures are shown somewhat larger on page 9. In front of the palm-leaf wall are two dancers who have placed the masks on their heads. The way they are portrayed (the absence of the leaf-aprons and the way they are leaping about) proves that Castelnau was not present at the dances. Ehrenreich also reports on such semicircular compartments for masks, and, to be sure, also among the Karajá ("Beiträge," p. 34). I never saw such compartments, but only the house-like mask huts described by me.

775 About the world beyond, the Karajá were unable to give me any information. Allegedly the deceased go to the heavens.

787 Dreams, which are said to be very frequent, are regarded as reality. For example: "If someone dreams that a relative of his has died, he gets into his boat and rides there, in order to see whether it is true." (Kurisĭ.)

789 Magic (lŏbūnĭ) of all kinds is very widespread; even enlightened Karajá still firmly believe in its effect. It is believed that through /333/ manipulations natural events (rain) can be influenced or that other people can be harmed through magic.

Rain magic is very common; everyone can use it, everyone has the apparatus necessary for it. I obtained several of these.

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

at will into a trance or semi-death, in which state their souls, or doubles, explore the occult, or what is hidden from men in a normal state. They also believe that these conjurers can transform themselves at pleasure into animals—into the form of a witch-wolf, for example, in order to terrify, injure and domineer over men; and, in brief, can do all things whereby shamanism—primitive priestcraft—secures and maintains its influence over the tribe. They have no images or idols, nor even fetiches, for the reason that they have not yet advanced to this more complex belief, if advancement it may be called.

The ghosts or spirits of the dead, which, as previously stated, are believed to tarry for a time in the vicinity of the graves where hang the bodies they were forced to abandon because they had fallen so into disrepair, take delight, in after time, in returning to haunt the places of their habitation during the days of their flesh; moreover, it is believed that they appear to their relatives, especially on wild and stormy nights: When the darkness is inky black, illumined only by the ceaseless play of the terrifying lightnings, and the thunders crash and boom as if the unseen Powers were engaged in mighty conflict, while the winds moan and shriek in the forest, then the old folk think of their dear departed; and by loud lamentations and wailings, put themselves into a state of ecstacy whereby their inflamed imagination creates every wished-for phantasm.

This animistic religion is without any ethical foundation. It has not in this stage attained to a conception of a higher or ruling Spirit upon whom man feels himself dependent for rewards and punishments for his deeds; and as just stated, lacks everything which connects man externally with divinity, such as images, the paraphernalia of worship, ritual, and the like. But we find among the Karayá those ceremonials from which apparently everywhere throughout the world the higher and more elaborate forms of worship have come, that is, the mystery rites.

Mask dances occupy an important place in Karayá life. The prominent rôle which these masquerades play among

7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
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request a ghost to do his killing. In this case the ghost takes the form of a wild beast, usually a leopard. He may request a supernatural either to enter the body of his victim, or to turn loose on the victim his subject animals, particularly the alligator and piranha. The curing shaman sucks out the intrusive supernatural or persuades the ghosts or supernaturals to withhold their attack.

The dichotomy of ghosts and supernaturals is quite clear in Carajá religion. Ghosts are placated by calendrical feasts, run by a hereditary priest. Supernaturals are invited to the masked dances by a shaman who takes complete charge of this cult. There is little relationship between the two cults. There is a momentary appearance of masks during the Big-house Feast of the ghost cult, and an occasional offering to ancestors during the mask cult ceremonies.

What is of special interest is that there are many maleficent supernaturals who cannot be approached at all. There is no technique for handling them except keeping out of their way. The violent ghosts really fall in the same category as far as their relation to humans is concerned. And yet they are chiefly the best men of the Carajá who have fallen in battle against their enemies. In this curious bit of fantasy there seems to be a projection of the fear and aggression which are overtly present in the social life.

In recent years a few Carajá have been able to visit Rio and Belém. They have brought back a somewhat different picture of the extent of the world, a picture with which many Carajá are now familiar. It never intrudes into Carajá life. It is reserved solely for discourse with outsiders. No contradiction is felt because the two conceptions are never brought into the same universe of discourse. I was not able to detect any signs of skepticism. The Carajá is perfectly sure that he has a clear view of the true character of the world. The peculiar beliefs of outsiders are in keeping with their quaint behavior and lack of good breeding. A Carajá will not dispute about such things. He listens to the opinions of others with courtesy and curiosity but cannot be induced to take them seriously. It is much easier to pretend to agree. If you are a missionary, you will give him presents. Later he may have the additional pleasure of expounding your fantastic ideas to his fellows.

Two factors seem to me to contribute largely to the maintainance of this attitude. In the first place, the old way of life is still intact. When a man is able to find full occupation and joy in his activities, it is difficult to get him to doubt the premises on which they are founded. Secondly, every important feature of life is validated by mythical tales which are the Carajá history. The emergence myth, given above in its simplest and shortest variant, is one of many. I can do no more than mention some of the most important here. The full form of the emergence myth gives the names of all the ancestors who emerged and the precise social divisions which they